

A  
VINDICATION  
O F  
The D— of G—;

In ANSWER to a LETTER signed  
JUNIUS, inserted in the PUBLICK  
ADVERTISER of *Saturday*, the 18th  
of *March*.

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(*Lucius Catilina*) Animus audax, subdolanus, varius, cujus libet rei simulator ac dissimulatus: alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus, satis loquentis, sapientis parum: vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta cupiebat. Hunc — libido maxima invaserat Reipublicæ capiundæ: Neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque indies ferox animus, inopia rei familiaris, et conscientia scelerum: — Incitabant præterea corrupti Civitatis Mores, quos pessima, ac diversa in se mala, luxuria atque avaritia vexabant.

*C. Grispi Salustii Catilina.*

Cum hic itaque (*Lucius Catilina*) se cum repeteret memoria miserandam ignominiam comitiorum, turpesque angustias rei familiaris; simulque intueretur, vel sibi vivendum ac moriendum fore cum turpitudine summa, vel senatum nullum esse oportere: de ratione tollendi ipsius primum cogitare cepit. Nam illo deleta, sine dubio intelligebat viam — latissimam libidinibus suis continuo patere.

*Portii Latronis in Catilinam Declamatio.*

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T O T H E  
P U B L I C K.

**T**HE Author thinks it necessary to assure his Countrymen, of that of which he thought it beneath himself to assure *Junius*, viz. that he can take God to Witness for the Purity of his Motives in his present Attempt. That neither the D. of G——, nor any other Minister or Servant of the Crown, has the least Intimation or Knowledge of it. That he would not only scorn to use his Pen in Defence of a bad Cause for any Consideration whatever, but that he would scruple to say the least thing in Matters of any Moment or Importance to the Commonwealth, which should not be perfectly agreeable to the best of his Information,

Knowledge, and Judgment. That his Intention is not so much to vindicate the D. of G——'s Character, as to open the Eyes of the Deluded Ones amongst his Countrymen, on the true Cause of their erroneous Clamours and preposterous Behaviour; and to guard them, if possible, against the artful and malicious Attempts which are daily made to pervert their Minds, by a Set of Men and of Writers, who appear to be void of every other Principle but that of endeavouring to raise themselves on the Ruins of their Country. That he has been long retired from all Business relative to the Government's Service. But

That he has been a cool and dispassionate Observer of the unfortunate Disturbances which have happened ever since the Return of *Wilkes* into the Kingdom. That he has bewailed in Silence whatever he has thought any ways amiss in the Deportment and Measures of the M——y, with



with respect to the Convict himself as well as his mobbish, dangerous, and outrageous Attendance; but that he has at last been fired with Wrath and Indignation at the daily and manifold Insults which have lately been offered, on the Part and in Behalf of that *Catiline* of his Country, to the best of K—s, and the mildest of Governments. That this has provoked him, in spite of Age and Infirmities, to lay hold of one insolent Paper, signed *Junius*, in order to try whether he can still be of some Use to his Country before he resigns his Breath. That if it pleaseth God! to grant him the least Success in this arduous Task, together with a Prolongation of Life, and a Sufficiency of Spirits, even in the midst of painful Sensations of Body and Mind, he will not fail to make some further Attempts of the like Nature.

That in the mean while he cannot but intreat the Deluded Ones of his Countrymen, not to imitate those Zealots in Religion.

ligion, who make it one of their sacred Rules, never to examine, or even to inspect whatever is wrote against their own Tenets. That he begs no other Favour of them, than to give his Performance a fair Perusal, and to compare the genuine Sense and Spirit of it, with the malicious Turn of *Junius's* Letter; which, for that Purpose, he has ordered to be printed at the End of his own: Except that Part of it, which relates to the Chirurgical Reports on the Death of *Clarke*, and which he has not thought it worth his while to take any Notice of, for the following Reasons.

First, That he is persuaded that the Motives which he has alledged, in the Course of his Answer to *Junius*, for having moved his M——y to grant his R——l Mercy to the convicted Rioter, and other Motives of the like Nature, which he may have omitted, must appear fully sufficient,

cient, with or without the Addition of the Opinions of the Surgeons.

Secondly, That those very Motives must have been the Foundation, on which the E. of R——d thought proper to have Recourse to the Decision of the Court of Examiners of the Surgeons Company, on the Informations of Mess. *Bromfield* and *Starling*.

Thirdly, That he cannot but regret, that the E. of R——d, whether with, or without the Concurrence of his Co-Ministers, seems to have thought proper to lay the Chirurgical Reports before the K—g, in Preference to all the other sufficient Motives, that were alledged; and were, or might have been suggested to his M——y, in Behalf of the pardoned Convict.

That for these Reasons, he has avoided entering into a Discussion, which was entirely

tirely needless, to convince the Publick of  
*Junius's* false, and malicious Inferences  
from the Pardon itself.

TO



which as you please, you will find in the End,  
that Countess, Lady, and Good-natured

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TO  
JUNIUS.

I Fear that the D. of G——, like some of his Predecessors in Office, thinks it too much beneath himself, to take any Notice of anonymous Aspersions on his publick and private Character.

There is, however, a Medium, between minding every nonsensical Scurrility which creeps into a News-Paper; and despising every malicious Attempt, which is made to inspire his Majesty's Subjects with Abhorrence, and Contempt of his Ministers.

I shall, therefore, take the Liberty, without his Grace's Knowledge, or Consent, to answer your Letter, directed to him in the *Public Advertiser*, of *Saturday* the 18th of *March*. You may abound in Wit, Sophistry, and Malice, as

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much

much as you please, you will find in the End, that Common Sense, Truth, and Good-nature, are superior to them.

The Maxim of *English* Government, of which you endeavour to pervert the Sense in so artful a Manner, owes its Birth to a Catastrophe, which has shewn of what Excesses our Nation is capable, when with, or without a Cause, the Reins of Government are once wrested out of the Hands of *those*, that are legally, and constitutionally, entrusted with them. It was adopted as a Bar, against a like Event, on like Occasions. It makes Ministers liable to be called to a legal Account, whenever they advise, or even suffer the K—g, to make use of their Administration, to encroach upon the Liberties of the People, by an Extension, or Abuse of his Prerogative.

It is in this Sense, and this Sense only, that it is become a proverbial Maxim of *English* Government, that *The K—g can do no Wrong*; and it is *so* in Fact; for supposing that a K—g should require of his Ministers, to act in his Name, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, and the Bounds of the Constitution, they are at Liberty to decline, and resign; and whoever  
he

he appoints in their stead, are at Liberty to do the same, or to stand the Chance of being impeached; and the Victims of their unlawful Obedience. But, to say, as you do, that every ungracious, and severe Exertion of the Prerogative, is to be placed to the Account of the Minister; and every Act of Grace and Benevolence, to that of the K—g, is as false, as unjust. For it is as much the Duty of a Minister, to advise in the latter Case, as in the former, and he is therefore entitled, to share in the Praise that can result from the one, full as much as in the Blame that may be laid on the other. Thus much, Sir, for your Definition. Now, as to the ungracious Acts, which have distinguished the D. of G——n's Administration, unless you will be pleased to point them out, (in which Case I shall know what to say to them,) I will suppose, that you mean for the present, that sole mitigated Act of Justice, which the first, and most insolent of all Offenders of his Class, has drawn upon himself, in spite of all the Time, and Means afforded him to avoid it. As to the Appearance, in this respect, of personal Interest, and personal Enmity, in a Quarter where you assert that no such Interest, or Enmity can be supposed to exist; I shall only say, that such an Appearance itself,

cannot exist, unless it should be true and notorious, that, independently of the Number Forty-Five itself being highly personal, the Criminal should have offended that Quarter, by many other Aspersions of his own, and those of his rotten Associate; in such a tender and sensible Part, as should have been without the Province of any Man to defend; and in such a provoking and insolent Manner, that unless K—s were supposed to be G—ds, or B—s, it could not but have made the deepest Impression.

I shall now come to the Act of Mercy, which you make the other Subject of your Abuse, and which you are, therefore, pleased to consider as a ministerial Measure of the D. of G——'s own Contrivance. I did not know till now, that an Act and a Measure of Government were one and the same thing. However, to give you full Scope, I do not care whether it be the one, or the other. I only wish, for the D. of G——'s Sake, that his Grace were entitled to claim the whole ministerial Merit of it; but, I fear, that the E. of R——d, and his other Co-Ministers, will not be much obliged to you, for robbing them of their Share in it; nor his M——y, for turning one  
of



of those Acts, in which his Royal Will and Pleasure can manifest itself in all its Splendour, into a mere ministerial *Measure*. But this is the least of your—What shall I call it? With all my Desire to abstain from Personalities, Truth must prevail; and, whether I will or not, I must call it your *Impudence*. How dare you assert in the Face of Thousands, and Hundred Thousands, (I don't say of your Countrymen, for I question your being an *Englishman*, unless you were *W—*s himself, but) of his M—y's loyal Subjects; who know, and feel the contrary, “that this Act “is received with UNIVERSAL Disapprobation “and Disgust.” Fie, fie, *Junius*, this is too gross; and, in the Midst of my Indignation, I cannot but rejoice, that it must rob you of all Credit, for the many other Falshoods which you have filled this, and your former Libels with. In the mean while, I shall endeavour to convince the Publick, of the Difference there is, between a fine Writer, and an honest one; and I shall willingly confess, that this Royal Act of Mercy has not been received *so universally, as it ought*, with that Approbation, and Joy which it so highly deserves.

There

There is certainly one Set of Men in this Kingdom, (in whose Service you follow the Footsteps of your imprisoned Predecessor,) who, from various Causes, appear to have no Feelings of Humanity left, except for the Abettors of that very Predecessor of yours, who, having been once their Tool, is now become, for some of them, the false, and for others, the pretended Object of their Compassion. I know some few of them, whom I cannot but pity from the Bottom of my Heart, for being biassed, and led astray, by the Force of their Connections, and deep rooted Prejudices ; and who pretend to espouse his Cause, not from the least Regard for himself, nor even for his Cause, properly speaking ; but for some Irregularities which they pretend to have been committed in the Prosecution of him ; and some others, which, if really such, they must confess to have been occasioned by the dangerous Concourse of his riotous Attendance. My Concern for them, had almost drawn me into a Digression :—But since they have chosen to be connected, and confounded with yourself, and the whole Tribe of *Wilkites*, I shall proceed to say, that it is this Set of Men, and this Set of Men only, that dissent from the Bulk of his

his M——y's Subjects; and deviate from the common Feelings of Humanity, as well as from the Love and Respect they owe to the best of Princes, in endeavouring to rob this Royal Act of Mercy, from Part of that universal Applause, which it ought to be attended with.

Thus it appears, that it is not through the D. of G——'s Management, as you dare to pretend in your insulting Question; but that it is through some of your Party's factious Manœuvres, and your own Attempt to pervert the Judgments of the People, that this Act of Mercy (in which the D. of G—— must have had his Share of advising) has not added full as much to the Lustre of a Character truly generous and benevolent, as it might have done, had you, and your Fellow-Revilers, been silenced by such Acts of Justice, as are no less necessary than Acts of Mercy, to add Lustre to the Crown, and to the Character of the worthy and amiable Monarch that wears it.

I shall now humour you so far, as to consider this Royal Act of Mercy in your own Light, *viz.* as a Ministerial Measure; and shew the Publick, that all the scurrilous Witicisms  
and

and Sarcasms of your Second Paragraph, are likewise founded upon nothing but Falshood. You pretend to insinuate, that Government assisted Sir *W—B—* against his Competitor *S—t—G—*; I do not know whether Government did, or not; but I will suppose for a Moment, it was so, there were sufficient Motives for it, without ascribing it to such corrupt ones, as you so falsely charge Government with. This deserves a cool, and dispassionate Illustration. Nothing is more natural than to suppose, that Government cannot but wish, that Men of Character, Property, loyal and Constitutional Principles, should offer themselves as Candidates; and be chosen as *M—rs* of *P—t*, at any Election; especially a County one. It is therefore easy to conceive, what Government's, and all its Well-wishers Feelings must have been, when a *W—s*, a Man void of every one of those Qualifications; and moreover convicted by his Country, of Crimes, which constitute his Want of every one of them, or, at least, of the first and the latter, whilst the other was notorious to all the World—It is easy, I say, to conceive, what Government must have felt, when such a Convict could have the Impudence to offer himself a Candidate for a County, which (though  
a small



a small one) is honoured with the Seat of Government; but which, at the same time, contains a great Number of Voters, who are, unfortunately, of the lowest Class, and therefore the most easily worked upon, by Novelty, Clamour of all Sorts, and the insidious Practices, of every crafty Villain who has a Mind to disturb the publick Tranquillity. But if Government must have been alarmed at the Impudence of this convicted Firebrand, (who had already made the same Attempt in the City of London, under the Sanction of a Mob,) what must its Uneasiness not have been, when, through the outrageous and terrifying Behaviour of this very Mob, and his mobbish Voters; he got himself elected, in Opposition to a Gentleman of unsullied Character, great Property, and true patriotick Loyalty? When therefore, before his Expulsion, the other Member for this County happened to die, nothing could be more natural for Government, than to wish that the abovementioned Gentleman, who had already represented this County for so many Years, should offer himself again, and endeavour to recover an Honor, of which he had been robbed by a most infamous Competitor; and the violent Proceedings of a most

vile, and riotous Opposition. At the same time, nothing could be more obnoxious or more alarming, not only to Government, but to every Man who has the publick Tranquillity, together with the Honor and Interest of his Country at Heart, than to observe, that a Gentleman of some Note in the Law, who had been employed by the Convict, in vain Attempts to defend his Cause, should avail himself of his Client's mobbish Popularity, and riotous Voters, to set up for being his Collegue, in Opposition to the Government's Friend. Whatever this Gentleman's Views were, in thus aspiring to a Seat in Parliament, in Conjunction with such an infamous Collegue, and by such a vile and terrifying Support, it was easily foreseen, that all Friends to Government, whether in or out of Place, would advise Sir W— P— to stand his Ground, and to use all the fair Means which the Freedom of an Election, and the narrowest Escapes from the Law, could admit of; to protect his Voters, against the Insults, and Outrages, by which they had been deterred on the preceding Election, and thereby, to prevent a Defeat of the like Nature.

I must

I must confess, that had I been Minister, I would not have scrupled, on such an emergent Occasion, to have disguised my own menial Servants; and to have employed them, together with all my Dependants of the like Class, to escort Sir W——, and any of his Voters, to the Hustings; and though I can protest before God, that I detest Bribery and Corruption, as much as any honest Man can do; I am of Opinion, that, in such a flagrant Case of Seduction as this happened to be, it would have been desirable, that the Constitution could have allowed, of a publick Reward to be offered, under the Sanction of the Legislative Power, to every necessitous Voter of this County, who would have ventured his Life in Support of true Liberty and Loyalty; and have deserted the Friend and Defendant of a Convict, who had been declared, by the whole Representative Body of the People themselves, to be guilty, of *alienating the Affections of the People from his Majesty, withdrawing them from their Obedience to the Laws of the Realm, and exciting them to treacherous Insurrections against his Majesty's Government.*

To assert indiscriminately, as some People do, that it is unconstitutional for Government to interfere in Elections, is ridiculous and absurd. It is only true, with respect to the executive Power of Government, and then only, as far as this is considered as a collective Body of Servants to the K—g, whose Prerogative in this respect, as in many others, is confined to the Execution of the Laws of the Realm. But as to the Individuals of this collective Body, it can only be said in the same Sense as it is said of Peers of the Realm, and even of any private Person, who is neither a Candidate, nor a Voter. If I had a Friend, who had a Mind to put up for a Borough, or a County, I would fain know why I should not be at Liberty, without deviating in the least from my tender Regard for the Constitution, to recommend him, by a fair Exposition of his Qualifications, to such of his Voters as should have a Confidence in my Judgment; or even a Regard for their Interest with me, or their Dependence on me; provided I did abstain from using my Authority, Influence, Purse, Menaces, or Promises, by Way of Bribery, or Corruption? However, instead of Sir W——'s being supported on the Part of Government, in any such publick or private Manner,



Manner, I am rather afraid, that Government trusted too much to Sir *W*——'s own Interest, and Management. The Event has shewn, that the Majority of Sir *W*——'s Voters, even in Case every one of them had had Vigilance, Strength, or Courage enough to force their Way to the Hustings, with the same mobbish Intrepidity as their Opponents, before the unhappy, and cruel Misconduct of some of their *Escorters* took place; it would not have been such a considerable one, as, on such an Occasion, every true Lover of his K—g and Country, would have wished it to be. The Event has likewise shewn, that the Friends or Agents of Sir *W*——, who had thought proper, or been charged to hire these *Escorters*, merely to protect his Voters from Insult and Outrages; and to prevent their being deterred in the like Manner as they had been on the preceding Election; had not taken sufficient Care to secure their Good Behaviour. But not to be too prolix, let us now consider the Event in itself; and Government's consequential Conduct. —

The Event was certainly very unfortunate for Sir *W*——, as well as for the Publick Tranquillity. It is easily conceived, that the *S*——'s Voters, elated with the Victory which their  
 infa-

infamous Hero's Mob, and their own mobbish Valour, had obtained in his Behalf on the preceding Election, would get to *Brentford*, and up to the Hustings with more Speed and Alacrity than Sir *W——m's*, who, from their Knowledge of what Adversaries they had to deal with, were now to rely on Mercenaries for their Protection. It was therefore no Wonder, that when the Fray happened, the *S——t* should have had a Majority of about 150 Votes, out of 2000; but it is rather Matter of Surprize that at such a Time he had not a greater one; and shews, that it were only the most terrified, and most decent Ones of Sir *W——m's* Voters, who were backward, and had resolved not to come up till their Adversaries should be mostly out of their Way; and perhaps towards the Time of closing the Poll. This accounts for what was affirmed on the Part of Sir *W——m*, of the great Number of his Voters, which were coming up to the Hustings at the Moment that the Poll was interrupted; and shews how much it was against his Interest, that such an unfortunate Incident should happen. This is so true, that it gave room, and does still give room to suspect, that some Villain amongst the *S——t's* Voters or Attendance, had been crafty enough to deceive those

those few of the Hirelings of the other Side; who were guilty of the Assault; and to excite them to this Interruption of the Poll by false Alarms; in Order to prevent Sir W—m's remaining Voters from turning the Balance in his Favor. But whether this was the Case, or that it was their own spontaneous Act, occasioned by Drunkenness, Misunderstanding, or Mismanagement of some of Sir W—m's menial Friends or Agents; it is notorious, that the S—t alone reaped all the Benefit from it. The Remainder of Sir W—m's Voters, were thereby not only prevented from Polling at that Time; but were induced into an Error, of which the S—t's Agents knew how to avail themselves, in order to lay the Blame of this cruel Incident on Sir W—m himself; and thereby to injure his Character, and Interest with them: in which malicious Attempt, the Close of the Poll did sufficiently shew, how much they had succeeded.

Thus far as to the Event itself. We shall now see what the Government's Conduct was, in consequence of it; and what it would have been, if there were the least Foundation for that secret Corruption, and open Violence,

which



which you dare to charge Government with : I say Government, for allowing the D. of G— to be as fully the Minister as you pretend, whatever you charge him with, falls equally upon those Members of Administration, who concur in his Measures, and suffer the K—g to approve them ; and consequently upon the whole collective Body of the Executive Power, under the Sanction of his M—y himself. I shall therefore suppose, for one Moment, that Government had resolved to support Sir W— at any rate, and by those unfair Means which you suggest : That the Chairmen had been hired by the M—r himself : That they had had Orders to act as they did, in Case the S—t should happen to have a Majority, as could not be over ballanced by Sir W—'s remaining Voters : That this had really happened to be the Case ; and that, consequently, they had thus far succeeded in what they had resolved. What do you think would have been their subsequent Proceedings ? Had they not a great Majority in the House of Commons, which, by the Spirit of the Constitution, is allowed to have alone the Power to judge and regulate all Matters relative to the Election of its Members ? Should they not have made the least Attempt



to represent this Matter in a false Light? Should they not have taken their Measures before-hand to get the Poll demolished? Should they not have endeavoured, by some Stratagem or other, to get this Election, which they should have found Means to interrupt, annulled? Should they not have endeavoured to gain Time? To procure a new Writ to be issued, for a distant Day of Election? Should they not, in the mean while, have employed every one of the numerous Baits, which powerful M——rs have always in Store, (when they please to make use of them,) for bribing Numbers of the S——t's necessitous Voters? Had they not wherewithal to outbid him, wherever he might have made use of the same Means? But supposing even that they had not dared to rely upon their Majority in the House, and been obliged to let the Election take its Course as it did; could M——rs, that should already have used, and were resolved to use such a Sort of Violence, be deterred, and that after their Success, of using the same Means, over and over again? Could they, with all the Craft of which you suppose the D. of G—— alone to be so plentifully possessed; and with all their Civil and Military Dependants, could they, I

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say,

say, have been at a Loss how to pick out such a Possee of Ruffians as could have baffled all the Efforts of the most bold and numerous Body of Constables; and could they have wanted all pecuniary, and other Means, to provide for the Evasion of the Criminals, in getting them out of the Kingdom? But, not to tire our Readers, with all what they might have done, if they had had the least Bend to that crafty Despotism, which you so impudently charge them with, let us come to what they really did. Why! they let every thing go on in its natural Course. They bewailed the Misconduct of Sir W——'s Managers, or Hirelings, but they let him stand the Chance of the Consequences. Their Majority in the H. of C——s lay dormant on the Occasion; and the Members of their own Body joined with the rest, in confirming the Poll as it stood; and in fixing but one, and as near a Day as possible, for closing it; tho' they could not but be conscious, that it would be impossible for Sir W—— to clear up, in so short a Time, the true Cause of such an unaccountable Incident; and to restore in his remaining Voters, that Confidence in his Character and Conduct, for the robbing him of which, it had afforded his Opponents so specious a Pretence.

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I shall now come to the Point, which you have made, by your own nonsensical Abuse, the Touch-Stone of the whole Share which Government, or, in your perverted Sense, the D. of G——, has had in this unfortunate Election; and I shall make it appear, that this itself clears Government, and the Duke, of all the Corruption and Violence you have charged them with. I mean Government's Conduct, with respect to the two unhappy Individuals of that mad and outrageous Party of Hirelings which had interrupted the Poll, and thereby deprived Sir W—— of carrying the Day. Had they been directly, or indirectly employed by the Government, or, if you will, by the D. of G——, they would either not have stood so bad a Chance, or a worse one. Ministers, who are capable of Corruption, and Violence, do seldom take any further Care of their Tools of such a Stamp, than as far as it is necessary for their own Safety; and in the Manner you paint the D. of G——, his Grace would have had too much Sagacity and Skill not to have acted up to the Principles which you bestow on him. It can therefore not be doubted, but he would have taken Care beforehand, or at least as soon as he was informed of the Event, to get those Criminals, and every one of the concerned, out of the

Way, before they could stand any Chance of being betrayed into the Hands of Justice. But I will even suppose for one Moment, that he had neglected this Precaution, as unnecessary, on Account of the Care he might have taken, that their Fate should be of no Consequence to Government, or himself: What could then have engaged him, to take so much Pains, as you suppose he did, to avert their Punishment? Had Sir *W*——*m* carried the Election by their Prowess, I can conceive, that had even the D. of *G*—— been as bad you represent him to be; his Grace might have been so much pleased with the Success, as to have afforded them some Assistance. But the Event was quite the reverse; and Sir *W*——*m* (greatly I believe to the D.—'s Mortification) miscarried, thro' the Misconduct of those very Wretches, for whom you would have had his *G*—— preserve, so much, of what you so insolently call, a political Friendship. I say thro' their Misconduct, for I have already shewn, from what Government did, and did not do, in Consequence of their Success, that they could not have been hired in order to behave as they did. I shall add, to all this, a very conclusive Consideration, which is, that Government in general, and the D. of *G*—— in particular, could not be ignorant, nor insensible,



sible, of the malicious, and dangerous Use which would be made against them, of this unfortunate Misbehaviour of People, that had been employed on the Side of a Candidate, in whose Success, they were very justly supposed to be deeply interested; and that therefore, in Case they had only had such a Share, I don't say of Corruption, but of that cruel Policy which is commonly ascribed to Ministers, they could not but have abandoned those unhappy Wretches to their tremendous Fate, for the Sake of their own Safety and Reputation. What would then Government, and the Duke not have done, had they been, moreover, such wicked Politicians, and such corrupted Men, as you dare to make of them; in case they had found themselves under the Necessity of deceiving the World, from a Consciousness of Guilt? Would they have hesitated one Moment, to sacrifice the vile Tools of it, to a Parade of their own Innocence; and would they not have been the foremost in applauding their Sentence; and debarring them of all possible Recourse to the R—l Mercy? For Shame, *Junius!* Go! hide yourself, or confess, that this very Act of R—l Mercy, which you turn into one of their Ministerial Measures, and from which you would deduce their Guilt, is the strongest  
 Proof

Proof of their Innocence; and not only of their Innocence, but of their Justice and Humanity. It appears now plainly, from what I have alledged, that these Principles were the only ones, which could induce them to listen to the Entreaties of a Number of Persons who commiserated the Fate of the Culprits, who, according to public Report, had fallen into the Hands of Justice, by the villainous Treachery of a Man, whose Life had been saved by one of them. Amongst those humane Persons, were several of Distinction, and even of those who are in Opposition to the Ministry; one of whom, being a Member of the H— of C—s, had moved the House for addressing the K—g, in order to obtain his R—l Mercy, for the very Man, to whom his M——y has now been pleased to grant it. So that, in Case the Ministers had not discharged their Duty, in laying before the K—g, the regular Applications which they had received, they would have given their Opponents a fair Opportunity of upbraiding them with it; and you, *Junius*, together with all your Fellow-Revilers, would then not have failed to improve upon it; and to make it the *Topick* of your Abuse of the D. of G——, in direct Opposition to your present *one*.

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This shews sufficiently, by what Principles you are actuated in your vile, and dangerous Attempts, to deceive the Bulk of his M——y's unguarded Subjects; and to create in their Minds, the falsest, and most dangerous Notions of the Characters, and Conduct of his Ministers.

I shall, therefore, let it rest here, and leave it to the Publick to judge, whether they ought not to despise; and even to detest and abhor, the fascinating Powers of your infernal Pen; and not suffer themselves to be attracted by the deceitful Colour, and Flavour, of the most subtle and penetrating Poison, that was ever invented; except by that Arch-Friend of his K—g and Country, to whose Society, and his Society alone, you should deserve to be confined for ever; by such a Punishment—as in Justice and good Policy, if not in Law, ought to be inflicted on every Man, whose powerful Talents, of what Nature soever, are only employed to the Destruction of Civil Society, and the Subversion of a State.

Now I have mentioned once more that unrelenting Firebrand, I must, before I take my

Leave

Leave of you, take some Notice of your last insolent Question to the D. of G——, with Respect to his having abandoned that irrecoverable Wretch, to his own perverted Conduct, and wilful Ruin. I will make bold to tell you, what, in my Opinion, must have occurred to his Grace's Mind, on the Character of that Convict, as well as on that of the other, whose Pardon you suppose was his Grace's sole Contrivance.

It must, I dare say, have occurred to his Grace, that the latter was an honest Fellow, in Comparison to the former. That he was a low-bred, ill-advised, unhappy Wretch, who, from being employed by his Betters, in several contested Elections, to act according to their occasional Commands, with the utmost Impunity; had taken it for granted, that the Licentiousness of an Election Riot was beyond the Reach of the Law; provided he did not rob, nor kill, nor fly in the Face of Justice. That, having been intoxicated with Liquor, or deceived by a silly, or malicious Prompter, or Signal; he fancied to be called upon, to drive the Adversary from the Field of Contest. That he was but one, of many who had been led, or had fallen into the same Error  
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with himself; and who, by laying about them like Madmen, committed more Mischief than they ever intended: Especially, by striking an unlucky Blow, of which the Person who received it, was asserted to have died; and whose Death, by the Coroner's Inquest, was deemed *wilful* Murder by a Person or Persons *unknown*. That, notwithstanding this Verdict, the Surgeon, who had attended him before he died, had informed the S——y of S—te, that he was of a very different Opinion. That, moreover, the Culprit was so little aware of having had any Share in that particular Accident; and was so little apprehensive of Researches to be made after the Individuals of an Election Riot, that he had not only returned to the Business of his legal Calling, but had had the Imprudence, to converse on what he had done, with his Friends and Acquaintance. That having met with a Person, who by his Birth and Appearance, was a Gentleman; and whom he had saved from a Blow, which might have proved as fatal as the other; he had not scrupled to accept of his Offer, of treating him with some Liquor by way of Gratitude; nor of relating to him whatever he knew of the Riot, and of his own Share in it. That he had been shame-

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fully betrayed by this pretended grateful Gentleman. That he had no sooner been made sensible, by his impending Fate, of the Unlawfulness and Criminality of his Election Business, but he had cried out for Mercy, with Promises of never being guilty of the like for the future. That he had not been indicted, and condemned for Murder, but for aiding and abetting in it ; as having been very active in the Election Riot. That these, and many other Circumstances, did certainly plead in his Favor. But then, that his Trial and Condemnation had been attended with Circumstances on the Part of the Audience, which had shocked all Decency and Humanity ; and had shewn, at the same Time, such a Spirit of Resentment and Infatuation in those, who had been the Opponents of the Candidate, whose Success he had spoiled by his Misconduct ; as was highly and criminally reflecting on Government ; as if the Execution of this Convict, was to have been a mere Sacrifice to Liberty, falsely pretended to be injured by Government itself. That this latter was a nettling Occurrence. That it was as dangerous for the M——y to abandon this poor Fellow to the Severity of the Law ; as to give Way to the Circumstances  
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which pleaded for his Pardon. That if he was hanged, the crafty Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity would not fail to say, that the M——y had been afraid to lay his Case before the K—g; and had sacrificed the poor Fellow, to their Fear of shewing him to be their own Tool, by recommending him to the R—l Mercy. That if, on the other hand, they complied with the Duties of their Stations, in laying before the K—g, the Intercessions that were made in his Behalf, with the Circumstances upon which they were founded; the same Revilers of Government would not fail to say, in Case his M——y should grant his Pardon; that this Royal Act was a Contrivance of their own, to save their Tool from the Gallows; and to bind him thereby to Secresy. That in good Policy, the latter was, however, preferable to the other. That if the Man was hanged, the Rascals could make him make a dying-Speech of their own Invention, pretending it to have been conveyed to them one Way or other. That, to the contrary, if he was kept alive, and set at Liberty, it would not be so easy for them to engage a Man, who had once escaped so narrowly the Power of the Law, to stand the Chance of being tried for

Perjury. But after all, that Honesty was the best Policy, and that therefore the most eligible of all was, to pay no Attention to whatever the Malice of others, or one's own Interest might suggest; but to keep up to the Rules of Office, as well as to those of Justice and Humanity: To let the Applications for Mercy take their natural Course to the Throne, full as much as those for Justice had done to the Bar: To let the Circumstances alledged, be referred, to whatever Persons, Courts, or Offices, were entitled to report on the same; and to let his M——y determine from thence, according to the Dictates of his own Wisdom, Justice, and Clemency.

This is, in my Opinion, what the D. of G—— would have considered in Behalf of this Chairman, had this Culprit been so much the Object of his Grace's Ministry and Attention, as you have made him to be: But I believe his Grace's Department affords him Matters of much greater Importance to the Nation, than the Fate of a Criminal of this Class. It does not even belong to it; and must have fallen to the Share of the E. of R——d, as being the Secretary of State, to whom the Applications  
for



for Mercy were made; and whose Office, together with those of his Co-Secretaries, are the proper Channels to the Throne, on all such Occasions.

I shall now answer the other Part of your insolent Apostrophe; and tell you, by way of Parallel, what must have occurred to his Grace's Mind, on the provoking Perversity, and consequential Fate of the other Convict.

It must have occurred to his Grace, that this Man was born of Parents, who, by their Industry in Trade, had made him a Gentleman: That Nature had set a peculiar exterior Mark upon him; and endowed him with consequential intellectual Parts: That tho' a younger Son, his Education, and patrimonial Support might have afforded him, not only the Means of making some Figure in the World, but of becoming an useful Subject to the State, and an honorable Member of Society: That instead of this, he had made himself, very early, as useless and despicable by his Prodigality and Profligacy, as conspicuous by his alluring Talents for Mirth and Jollity; and his prodigious Share of Humour, Wit, and Satire. That to his Ambition of shining  
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in this Way, he had sacrificed all Principles of Justice and Humanity; and only preserved the outward Appearances of Love and Good-Nature, as a Cloak for his Vices. That he had had recourse to the sacred Tie of Wedlock, to become the Master of a large Fortune; and having glutted his Vanity, and Luxury with it; he had spurned the Woman who bestowed it on him, and treated her in the most barbarous and villainous Manner. That the only Use he had made of his Seat in P——t, had been to contract Debts with Impunity; and to rob his Creditors and Tradesmen of their Due; as well as the very Poor, of Monies, which he had found Means to get into his Clutches. That being become too notorious to be trusted any longer; and finding himself therefore debarred of all Resources of the like Nature; he had, at last resolved, to retrieve his Fortunes, by the same Talents, and in the same Way, which he had made use of to squander them. That his Turn for Wit and Satire had procured him a great Number of Connections; and had made him the Friend and Companion of some of the first Men of Birth and Distinction in the Kingdom, and especially, of the Young, and rising

rising Ones. — That it happened very fortunately for himself (if the End could have answered the Beginning) but very, very unfortunately for his Country, that just at that Time, and in the Dawning of a new Reign, a great Deal of Jealousy, Discontent, and Disgust had arisen amongst the *English* Nobility, and other distinguished Personages of this Part of the Realm; and *this* from a mere but very unlucky Circumstance. That this Circumstance had had its Source in the Misconduct of those Senior Ones of their own Class, who, under the late Reign, had behaved in a slighting and even oppressive Manner towards the late P. of W—— and the R— P——s his surviving D——r. That they had been guilty of the grossest Mismanagement, and Neglect, with Respect to the usual Cares to be taken, of a P—e, who, by the Demise of his Father, was become the immediate Heir to the Throne. That this Conduct of theirs, had reduced the R—l P——s his Mother, to have Recourse to a Nobleman, who had been greatly trusted and beloved by the P. her Consort; and who had continued to shew his faithful Zeal, and loyal Attachment, to Herself, and her Royal Offspring. That it was to this Nobleman, that,  
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under the tender Care of the most affectionate and worthiest of Mothers, the young Monarch (endowed by Nature with the happiest Inclinations) was solely indebted for every Improvement of his Understanding; and for every proper Direction of his Virtues, to make him the Benefactor and Delight of his People. That this Nobleman's private Character had always been reputed to be a most virtuous and most amiable one, as well as a Husband, a Father, and a Master, as a Friend; and that his Taste, and Understanding, had been cultivated in the most elevated Manner. That consequently, nothing could have been more acceptable to the Nation in general, when the young Monarch mounted the Throne, than to observe, how much he loved, and revered the Man, under whose Conduct he had already as *P. of W.* endeared himself to the People; by the most affable, and at the same time the most dignified Deportment, that his Situation could allow of; as well as by the early Appearances of those innate Virtues of Wisdom, Justice, and Humanity, which are so conspicuous in his Character. That the very first Acts of his Reign had been Pledges of his Love for his People, and of his tender Regard for their

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Liberties, and Privileges. That they had been, at the same time, Proofs, of the distinguished Care, which the Royal Princess his Mother had taken, with the unwearied Assistance of the E. of B. to cultivate and improve those Principles in his Royal Breast. That it had therefore been happy for the Nation, that this Nobleman, who by his Nobleness of Soul, as well as by his Affluence, and Regularity, was above all sordid Views, had only continued to be the private Guide and Adviser, of a Prince, to whose Happiness (which he had taught him to depend on that of his People) he had devoted himself in so peculiar a Manner. That this would, in all likelihood, have been the Case, had it not been for that unhappy Circumstance which created to much Jealousy and Discontent, at the Confidence he enjoyed on the Part of his Royal Master; and which gave Occasion to those Intrigues, which forced him into the Ministry. That this Circumstance had been originally no other, than that this Nobleman had derived his Birth and Extraction from a *Scotch*, instead of an *English* Family; and moreover, from a collateral Branch of the Royal House of *Stuart*.

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That tho' this Circumstance in itself, could have had no Weight with Men of Sense, and Well-wishers to the Union of the two Kingdoms, it had been very soon aggrivated, by an apparent Design in the Young Monarch, of endeavouring to abolish that sort of settled Party Spirit, which had all the Appearance of a mere Partiality in the Crown; and which, like in the Reign of his Royal Grand-Father, might expose the best of his Measures, not to fair Discussions, but to perpetual, spiteful, and captious Oppositions; and thus keep him under the Necessity of being the Head of a Party, instead of the K— of the Realm. That this was not the Time to consider how far this Plan had been eligible, or practicable; or how far it could have deserved that horrid Animosity against it, which manifested itself in those, whose Party had been used to dispose of all the Honors and Favours of the Crown. That it only occurred to his (the D—'s) Mind, on Account of those Divisions, which had so highly favoured the crafty Attempts of the Convict who was the Subject of his Recollections, to retrieve his broken, and desperate Fortunes. That this Firebrand had found in those Divisions,

fions, an immense Resource for ingratiating himself, by his Wit and Satire, with all those who were alarmed at the K—'s Confidence in a Nobleman, who, it was natural to suppose, had advised him to act upon the Plan just mentioned. That to this Purpose he had amused, inflamed, and bewitched the Minds of the Young and most lively amongst them, by the most ludicrous, and most odious Comparisons between *South* and *North Britons*; and at the same time with the most villainous and most infernal Inuendos, Strictures, and Interpretations, on an *Intercourse*, which had been solely founded, upon the most urgent Circumstances, and the most virtuous Motives. That not content to make use, to this Purpose, of private Parties of Mirth and Jollity, he had employed the vilest Artificers, and Retailers of Scandal, to invent, exhibit, and hawk about, all that Hell could produce, to inspire the Vulgar with Odium and Contempt, against that very Nobleman, to whom the Nation stood so greatly indebted, for his Care of their neglected Prince; and for the Tokens and Pledges they had already received of their Monarch's Love and tender Regard for their Liberty, and Wel-

fare, since his Accession to the Throne. That he had not scrupled to attempt all this, at the Expence of the Honor of his K—g and Country; by endeavouring to wound it in such a tender Point, as was too sacred to be so much as recollected; and which no civilized Nation of our Times, except our own, could have borne to be attempted. That he had employed, to the same Purpose, all the alluring Powers of his own, and his poetical Associate's infernal Pen. That whilst he had been thus availing himself of the Licentiousness of the Press, and of the Profligacy of the Times, he had also interwoven the Whole, with some very serious Attacks on the political Measures of Government, and National Occurrences. That whether rightly or wrongly, he had indeed in this Respect been employed by his Betters; but far from having been misled, like the riotous Chairman, by some maddish or treacherous Prompter, he had been warned, even by the most violent of his Employers, to keep within the Bounds of the Law, and not to go to the Length which he did. That allured with the pecuniary Means which it afforded him (not to pay his Debts, but to support his Prodigality;)



gality;) intoxicated with the false Applause of those who delighted in Mischief; and infatuated with the vain, and extravagant Opinion of himself, he had at last found means, in spite of all what his Friends and Betters could say to dissuade him from it; to afford his M——y's Ministers an Opportunity of prosecuting him for a Crime, whereby it could be done with Decency; and without dipping into all the filthy, and villainous Calumnies he had been guilty of. That this would have effectually extinguished his infernal incendiary Torch; could those Ministers have foreseen, that, in Favor of such an abandoned Wretch, the usual Forms of their Offices, which from the glorious *Revolution*, till that very Time, had never before been called in question, should then be arraigned, and deemed to be illegal. That it would be superfluous to recall to Mind, all the Mischiefs that have accrued, and were accruing to Government, from their not having been aware of this real, or pretended Irregularity. That it was sufficient to consider it, as far as it had afforded the Culprit so many Opportunities of extricating himself out of the Hands of Justice; or of avoiding the Infliction of all Punishment,

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by an Acknowledgment of his Guilt; a submissive Application for Mercy; and an Offer of proper Pledges for his future good Behaviour. That instead of this, he had been ever since, either flying in the Face of Justice; or applying not for Mercy, but for such a Sort of Pardon, as would have confounded his Crimes, with the real, or pretended Irregularity of an Office; and as would have been, at the same time, a base Concession in the Crown, at the Expence of the most sacred Truths, of his having been prosecuted, without that legal Cause, of which he is daily increasing the Weight and Importance, by a Repetition of his Seditious Falshoods; and his villainous Attempts to pervert the Minds of His M——y's Subjects. That it was true, that being carried away with the Stream of those Alarms, and Jealousies, which had arisen from that recollected Circumstance, which was so artfully misrepresented as a national Grievance; he (the D— himself) had once been one of those of the Culprit's Betters, who had been his Friends. That this would be a sad Recollection, were it not likewise true, that as gradually as he (the D.) had changed his Opinion with respect to Men and Measures,

Measures, he had endeavoured to conciliate his Steps and Duties, with whatever his decaying Friendship, and his innate Humanity, could require from him. That as a Man, who had the most tender Regard for the Errors and Frailties of his Friends of any Class; he had not scrupled, even whilst he was S——y of S—e, to join his Purse to those of others, to maintain the Culprit in his own expensive Way, whilst he was considered as an Outlaw. But that as a M——r, he had refused to comply with his absurd, and insolent Request, of procuring him such a Pardon from His M——y, as would have been a Slur on the Law, and a Disgrace to the Crown. That the Culprit's Resentment at this reasonable, and unavoidable Refusal, had drawn him into the same spiteful, and criminal Behaviour, against him (the D. himself) as he had been guilty of, against all those, whether Benefactors, or Prosecutors, whom he had thought fit, to make the Objects of his Turn for false, and satirical Abuse. That notwithstanding all this, he (the D.) had abstained, from interfering in any of the Steps, which Government had, or might have taken, in Consequence of his insolent Return into the Kingdom. That to avoid all Suspicion of personal

sonal Resentment, he had kept himself close to the Duties of his Department, and had left the Law to act with respect to this insolent Convict, in such a Manner, as the Administrators of it had thought proper. That at last, the Outrages committed, in Favor, and in Imitation, of the inflammatory Conduct of this unrelenting Firebrand, against the whole collective Body of Government, had not left him (the D.) any longer at Liberty to choose what Part to act. That to try, however, every possible Means to redeem a Man, of whom he had once had a less bad Opinion; he (the D.) had suggested to those who commiserated the perverse Obstinacy of their former Friend, all what could be imagined, for engaging him to submit to the Laws of his Country; and to the usual, and only Course which was left him, to alleviate and abridge the Execution of them, by the most submissive, and the most satisfactory Recourse to the R—l Mercy. That being at last convinced of the apparent Resolution of this desperate Criminal, to attempt as far as he could, the Ruin of his Country, in order to ingratiate his own extravagant Prodigality, and *Catalinical* Ambition, he (the D.) had resolved in his turn, not only, totally to abandon him



to the Perverſity of his Nature, and to the tremendous Conſequences of his deſperate Conduct; but to act the Part of a moſt faithful, and moſt zealous Servant to the Crown; of one of the Guardians of the Conſtitution; and of one of the Reſtorers of the publick Tranquility; to the Terror, and Deſtruction of this, and every other ſeditious Firebrand, who ſhould continue to pervert, and inflame the Minds of his M——y's unguarded Subjects.

This it is, *Junius*, what, in my humble Opinion, (in which, I hope, the D. of G—— will excuſe whatever may be defective,) muſt have occurred to his G——'s Mind, with Reſpect to the two Convicts, whoſe different Fates you have made the Topicks of your insolent Ab-uſe.

I ſhall leave it to every impartial Reader, to compare your insulting, and falſly concluſive Queſtion, with my chaſtiſing, and truly concluſive Answer; and I dare flatter myſelf, that it will induce the Publick to believe, that, not only *the uniform Tenour of the D. of G——n's publick Conduct*, but even the Cha-  
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rafter of his private Life, if it were sufficiently known, would be, indeed, a sufficient Answer, to whatever Questions your Malice can suggest.

*For*

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*For the Public Advertiser.*

*To his Grace the D— of \* \* \* \* \**

*My LORD,*

**B**EFORE you were placed at the Head of Affairs, it had been a Maxim of the *English* Government, not unwillingly admitted by the People, that every ungracious or severe Exertion of the Prerogative should be placed to the Account of the Minister ; but that whenever an Act of Grace or Benevolence was to be performed, the whole Merit of it should be attributed to the Sovereign himself. It was a wise Doctrine, my Lord, and equally advantageous to the King and to his Subjects ; for while it preserved that suspicious Attention, with which the People ought always to examine the Conduct of Ministers, it tended, at the same Time, rather to increase than to diminish their Attachment to the Person of their Sovereign. If there be not a Fatality attending every Measure you are concerned in, by what Treachery, or by what Excess of Folly has it happened,

that those ungracious Acts, which have distinguished your Administration, and which I doubt not were entirely your own, should carry with them a strong Appearance of personal Interest, and even of personal Enmity, in a Quarter, where no such Interest or Enmity can be supposed to exist, without the highest Injustice, and the highest Dishonour? On the other hand, by what judicious Management have you contrived it, that the only Act of Mercy, to which you ever advised your —, far from adding to the Lustre of a Character truly gracious and benevolent, should be received with universal Disapprobation and Disgust? I shall consider it as a ministerial Measure, because it is an odious one; and as your Measure, my Lord D—e, because you are the Minister.

As long as the Trial of this Chairman was depending, it was natural enough that Government should give him every possible Encouragement and Support. The honourable Service, for which he was hired, and the Spirit with which he performed it, made a common Cause between your G. and him. The Minister, who by secret Corruption invades the Freedom of Elections, and the Russian, who by open Violence



lence destroys that Freedom, are embarked in the same Bottom. They have the same Interests, and mutually feel for each other. To do Justice to your G.'s Humanity, you felt for *M<sup>r</sup> Quirk* as you ought to do; and if you had been contented to assist him indirectly, without a notorious Denial of Justice, or openly insulting the Sense of the Nation, you might have satisfied every Duty of political Friendship, without committing the Honour of your —, or hazarding the Reputation of his Government. But when this unhappy Man had been solemnly tried, convicted, and condemned; — when it appeared that he had been frequently employed in the same Services, and that no Excuse for him could be drawn, either from the Innocence of his former Life, or the Simplicity of his Character, was it not hazarding too much to interpose the Strength of the Prerogative between this Felon and the Justice of his Country? You ought to have known, that an Example of this Sort was never so necessary as at present; and certainly you must have known, that the Lot could not have fallen upon a more guilty Object. What System of Government is this? You are perpetually complaining of the riotous Disposition of the lower Class of People, yet  
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when the Laws have given you the Means of making an Example, in every Sense unexceptionable, and by far the most likely to awe the Multitude, you pardon the Offence, and are not ashamed to give the Sanction of Government to the Riots you complain of, and even to future Murders. You are partial, perhaps, to the military Mode of Execution, and had rather see a Score of these Wretches butchered by the Guards, than one of them suffer Death by regular Course of Law. How does it happen, my Lord, that, in *your* Hands, even the Mercy of the Prerogative is Cruelty and Oppression to the Subject. . . . .

“ Now, my Lord, let me ask you, Has it never occurred to your G. while you were withdrawing this desperate Wretch from that Justice, which the Laws had awarded, and which the whole People of *England* demanded against him, that there is another Man, who is the Favourite of his Country, whose Pardon would have been accepted with Gratitude, whose Pardon would have healed all our Divisions? Have you quite forgotten that this Man was once your G.’s Friend? Or is it to Murderers only that you will extend the Mercy of the C—n?

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“ These are Questions you will not answer,  
Nor is it necessary. The Character of your private Life, and the uniform Tenour of your publick Conduct, is an Answer to them all.

J U N I U S.”

F I N I S.